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YUGOSLAVIA IN THE STRIVING FOR PEACE

Obrad CICMIL

EVIDENTLY, as practically everybody agrees, the world is not enjoying peace and security today. We are assailed by anxiety. The danger of war is not past. Peace has not been made secure. True, someone might say: why, peace has never been secured for a long term and by some distinct guaranties. Of course it is not. But never before in the whole history of mankind has there ever been such a clear idea and such a firm conviction in the consciousness of people that there would be no victors in a future war and that the world would be destroyed. Today, one may say, that is a bitter realization rather than an assumption. Even regardless of the fact that some of the leaders of the contemporary world, no matter from what side, may be maintaining the opposite, or what they may even be hoping for intimately, wishful that luck and surprise be with them.

On the other hand, there are antagonistic groupings, here are blocs and alliances which have been formed and strengthened. They have their programmes of war and reparation. These programmes have been realized in large measure. Reserves of war material and stockpiles of the latest destructive weapons are huge, fearful, and production is carried on. Large armies are maintained on own territories and those of another. Launching pads for missiles with atomic warheads are scattered throughout the territories of the great powers, as well as among the „allies“, beyond the own territory of

the countries possessing nuclear and other destructive weapons. Instead of the onetime installations with a local significance which were called Maginot Line or Siegfried Line, the globe today is covered by a thick network of radar lines and stations controlling near-every movement on earth and which, the same as those former installations, have cost many billions of dollars to build. And their efficaciousness, in the face of inter-continental rockets, is highly questionable just the same. And so forth.

In fine, there are blocs, they desire peace, and are preparing for war. Essentially the ancient principle *si vis pacem para bellum* is even today at the base of the bloc-policy, being only pursued under new conditions and by new means. However, today such a policy obviously is not making peace and is foreshadowing no bright future for people. The old principles have been transcended, the atomic age has introduced epoch-making changes in science, and those results of scientific discoveries have been converted into armament with a fantastic power. And man's thinking and its effect on human relations has produced nothing epoch-making during this time, it is progressing slowly, archaically, like yesterday, like a hundred years ago.

It is true that everybody is pronouncing himself for peace today. No one for war. And it would be very risky at this moment, and anything but convincing, to

brand anyone personally as a warmonger, at least among the responsible men leading the individual countries and peoples. But that is about all! Everything is somehow arranged, set, routine, work is going on and preparations to avoid surprise, declaratively war is not wanted, alignments are made into blocs, and life goes on in fear. And there is no peace! Tomorrow is uncertain.

However, there are men in the world, there are also millions-strong masses and individual leaders who also are pronouncing themselves for peace and fighting for peace, deeming that the roads leading to it differ, though. As far as we, Yugoslavs, are concerned, we, too, have a different opinion. For some time past we have believed that in the conditions today preparation for war is not the way to safeguard peace. Co-operation, agreement, recognition to all, the great and the little, of the right to live and work according to their own precepts — such are the fundamental presuppositions for team-work and peace between peoples. We spoke thus also before. And we are saying the same thing now, too. It seems pertinent to emphasize just in this place and at this moment that the present policy of Yugoslavia, and, accordingly, the recent great trip of President Tito as well, is a continuation of the already long-since commenced efforts and strivings for the promotion of co-operation between peoples and the guarding of peace in the world. The principles by which we are guided also today are not novel in our practice, nor are they any subsidiary or spasmodic characteristics of our foreign-political activity. By way of President Tito's attitudes and our whole practice of foreign-political relations, we have long since clearly and distinctly said that we desire to co-operate with all, regardless of the social systems and internal organizations, regardless of race and colour of skin, regardless of the size and strength of a given country; on a basis of equality, without interference in internal affairs, and with mutual respect for integrity and sovereignty, however. I wish to stress, without claiming a copyright for Yugoslavia, though, that those principles have been our watchword and our practice even considerably before the appearance of the preamble to the Indian-Chinese agreement on Tibet and that they had already represented a practice of ours by the time they appeared in the Tito-Nehru Declaration and also when, later and in another way, they were pronounced in the Bandung documents.

This time, too, we have followed President Tito's visit to Asia and Africa with the same ideas. Those principles have been our measure and criterion for appraising his good will mission, and it is from those positions and on the basis of the messages President Tito has brought us that we are balancing that great and long trip. And the balance-sheet looks imposing: a 60,000 kilometres long trip in the service of peace; a sincere and friendly exchange of opinions with the responsible leaders of a fourth of mankind; a direct addressing to hundreds of thousands of people in Asia and Africa; and a compact that in the future also we shall jointly strive for peace and remain friends. They have listened to him as a well-known friend, they saw him as one of theirs because he was having the same anxieties as they, and they rejoiced together with him as they

were being granted documents with title to their own land and as they waved to him with their just-received title-deeds. Symbolical are such victories and celebrations. And Tito attended them not as a tourist, not as one carrying a message of another, not as a preacher either. Tito had come there as a realistic politician and statesman, as the representative of a particular country as well, consciously to make his contribution to the cause of peace, co-operation and the striving for a happier and better life which people have been conducting strenuously, now with more now with less success.

In the course of those visits of President Tito a number of documents were announced. Beside co-operation between Yugoslavia and the relevant countries, those documents demand and highlight the need to preserve peace. They also advance tangible proposals and state the attitudes of the signatories and their governments regarding the indispensable need to end nuclear weapons tests, to commence disarmament, to achieve a quick settlement of acute problems which, like the German question, are a potential source of conflict. By those actions of President Tito, as well as by the actions of all those statesmen and leaders with whom he had met and talked and, as President Tito said, reached agreement on the largest number of questions, the striving for peace is switched from the line of war preparations and alignments to another line, that of extrabloc co-operation which serves to widen the striving for peace, setting no limitations to it and recognizing no monopoly to anyone in this striving. And another thing. Tito's attitude, which he has been stressing, that the subjective responsibility of the leading personalities in the world is no little factor. Especially not today! They cannot escape this responsibility whether before their own peoples or history. He personally and conscientiously accepts his share of that responsibility, seeking to meet it by the described and similar actions. For what he said and did on this trip Tito unquestionably had the mandate of the Yugoslav people, but not of Europe, not of the world, though. And the people over there have called him a citizen of the world. Not accidentally either! Even in the absence of a concrete power of attorney like that, in the eyes of those peoples Tito appeared as the herald of a new Europe, the one causing no apprehensions and which does not have to be resisted, the one with which one co-operates. And that is not little, and it is not an ordinary and everyday phenomenon.

Such has been the aim and such is the balance-sheet of President Tito's trip to some countries of Asia and Africa. Striving for peace and co-operation between peoples which he is pursuing both in Yugoslavia and beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. At the same time it is a real striving for the application of the principle of the policy of active co-existence in international relations. And thanks to all this, in the minds of millions of people, Tito and Yugoslavia appear as concepts with perfectly concrete and distinctly positive substance, concepts which can be neither isolated nor falsely represented so easily, regardless of the tenacity of some to do so and regardless of the dose of malice and shamelessness in the contents of certain propaganda.

Background of Events in Nyassaland

Milivoje PRLJA

AMONG the important political events which throw a strong light on the process of the awakening and emancipation of the Black Continent and the rapid growth of the aspirations towards liberation of the African people, the latest events in the Federation of Central Africa and in the Protectorate of Nyassaland, which has been a member of this Federation since 1953 have attracted special attention. These disorders and attacks by African population on some of the Colonial institutions in the northern part of the Protectorate are, however, nothing new. They are only a reflection of the enormous dissatisfaction of the native population, which ever since the formation of the Federation, has manifested itself in lesser or greater clashes with the colonial authorities. The fact that the clashes which have taken place during the recent days have had stronger repercussions throughout the world is due in the first place to the fact that the African National Congress has clearly announced that the African population of Nyassaland will no longer stand the suffer Federation and that it will start a decisive struggle for the attainment of national independence.

The killing of several dozens of Africans, the jailing of a large number of leaders of the African National Congress, and the proclamation of a state of emergency, illustrate the gravity of the situation. These measures, however, also indicate that the colonial authorities in the Federation have once again manifested complete lack of understanding of the legitimate rights and demands of the native population, and have resorted to the classic methods of colonial rule, despite the African peoples from achieving their national aspiration. The colonial authorities of the Federation seem to have forgotten that experience has already clearly proved that large areas in Africa can no longer be held in subjection by means of force.

Just over five years ago, in August 1953, after several unsuccessful attempts an idea was put into practice, the first indications of which had already appeared in 1910. Two British Protectorates — Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland, and the self-governing British colony Southern Rhodesia — formed a Federation, despite strong resistance on the part of the African population of these territories. This was a unique example of the creation of

a Federation of countries which were completely different in historic, political and social conditions.

A number of elements played a decisive role in connection with the creation of this Federation. Britain was interested in this project because a firm federation appeared to be a strong guarantee that all these territories would be maintained under British domination (in face of the powerful liberation movement) much more easily than if three separate territories existed, one of which, Southern Rhodesia, could easily become the prey of the Union of South Africa. Such a federation, if successful, might be an example for the unification of other territories which Britain would find more and more difficult to hold in check because of the strong liberation movements.

The white settlers of these territories eagerly welcomed the idea of the Federation. In addition to political reasons, such as it made it possible for them to rally together their scattered forces, it suited them from the economic point of view. Northern Rhodesia is one of the biggest copper producer in the world, and the only coal deposits in Central Africa are in Southern Rhodesia. Nyassaland, on the other hand, has enormous reserves of labour and potential possibilities for increasing the production of food articles. Thus the copper of Northern Rhodesia would be smelted by means of coal of Southern Rhodesia and would be processed by Nyassaland labour. This was an excellent arrangement conceived by the white holders of power. And who would reap the profit from this — the 7 million Africans or the 250 thousand all-powerful Whites? There is no doubt about the answer. For the sake of better illustration we shall cite here only a few examples. The very first year after the formation of the Federation, the Rokhana Corporation, which holds part of the copper, production rights, had a clear profit of 12,600,000 Pound Sterling. The profits of the Nchanaga Company, which also produces copper, amounted to about 10,000,000 Pounds and the case was similar with other companies. In that year about 30,000,000 Pounds went into pockets of the American, British and South African shareholders, while the entire revenue remaining to Northern Rhodesia amounted to 30,000,000 Pounds.

The central problem of the Federation ever since its formation has been the position of the African population. Despite the solemn proclamation of racial tolerance or so-called „Partnership“, racial discrimination is reflected in all fields of social and public life.

Under the 1953 Constitution of the Federation, a 35 member Federal Parliament was formed; 26 of these represent the interests of the European settlers, while only 9 are representatives of the Africans (6 Africans and 3 Europeans). This really means that the white settlers, who constitute only 2.7 percent of the total population, have three quarters of the representatives in Parliament, while 97 percent of the African population have only one quarter. Last year the number of members of Parliament was increased to 59 (44 elected and 9 appointed) out of which 24 seats were allotted to representatives of Southern Rhodesia, 14 to Northern Rhodesia and 6 to Nyassaland. As in previous years, it was made impossible for the Africans to elect their representatives. The best illustration of political discrimination is provided by the Electoral Law, in which the principle of „partnership“ is explicitly stressed, and every kind of racial discrimination forbidden. Under this Electoral Law the voters are divided into two categories: general and special. The voters who have an annual income of 720 Pounds, or 480 Pounds and basic education, belong to the first category. The second category embraces voters who have incomes of 12 Pounds a month and a property valued at 500 Pounds. It is not difficult to guess what this property census means, especially bearing in mind the fact that the average annual income of an African at the best seldom exceeds 70 Pounds. Although the Law applies to all races, only the white settlers can avail themselves of the electoral practice. The results of last year's elections clearly showed this. Of the total of 86 thousand registered voters only 4 percent were Africans, whereas in the second category of voters 624 Africans were registered in Southern Rhodesia, and in Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland only 7. These data clearly show the extent of participation of the African population in the administration of their own land.

In addition to political discrimination, strong discrimination in the economic field is felt throughout the entire Federation of Central Africa. Although no law exists forbidding Africans to do the work of skilled workers, it is hard to find an African who is employed as such. In the copper mines about 40 thousand African workers are employed on the hardest jobs, and only 6 thousand Whites. While the average monthly pay of a white worker is about 100 Pounds, the pay of an African does not exceed 6 Pounds a month. The situation is similar in Southern Rhodesia, while the position of African workers in Nyassaland is still worse. Personal income per capita of the non-Africans in Northern Rhodesia is 58 times as great as the average income of Africans, while in Southern Rhodesia it is 34 times as great.

Low wages are not the only example of the miserable position and exploitation of the African workers. The existence of racial discrimination is manifested in daily life. Africans, for example, are not permitted to enter European hotels or European cinemas. Separate compartments are reserved for them on trains and buses, while in larger cities separate entrances and counters exist for Africans in banks and post offices. In Southern Rhodesia this discrimination has gone furthest, and in that country today the policy of the geographical separation of Africans from non-Africans in being carried out on the same lines in the Union of South Africa.

The poorest member of the Federation of Central Africa is Nyassaland. About two and a half million Africans live there under the pressure of the greatest misery and disease, while 6 thousand white settlers hold over 1 million of acres of the best land, and all the commanding posts in the political and economic life of Nyassaland. The fact that the British South African Company still possesses all rights to exploit the mineral riches of this territory is not without significance. Difficult living conditions compel every year one third, and in some parts of the country even over 60 percent, of the physically able population to seek employment in Northern or Southern Rhodesia. This migration is even increased by legal measures, such as confiscation of land and fixing of wages for African workers in considerably lower amounts than in the neighbouring member-states of the Federation, with the object of increasing the inflow of labour force for the mines in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. There is no doubt at all that the difficult living conditions and cruel exploitation of African population of Nyassaland have been one of the basic reasons that this country has from the very first days of the existence of the Federation, taken a most energetic stand against the Federation. But in addition to this, what is particularly characteristic is the fact that the nationalist movement in

Nyassaland, as opposed to the neighbouring countries (and even Ghana, which has already achieved her independence), has united all strata of the population regardless of religious or tribal affiliation and local traditions. Certainly the African National Congress, which has now posed the question of the further existence of the Federation, is to be credited for this. „We shall accept the Federation“, said one of the leaders of the African National Congress, „only when we have at least 99 percent of the administration of our own country in our hands“.

It is not accidental that the demand for separation and independence of Nyassaland has come up just now, at the moment when the federal authorities of the colony, headed by Mr. Walensky, the Prime Minister, are negotiating in London for gaining the status of a dominion. The dis-

orders in Nyassaland are only a beginning. The inevitable process of awakening the national conscience of enslaved peoples cannot be checked. The past period in the life of the Federation has only shown that it has been yet another attempt on the part of the former powers to retain their old positions in new forms. The Federation has lived in an atmosphere of peace, although artificial and unstable, and it will continue to live so until the African peoples of those territories begin to appear in an organized form and politically mature on the stage of social happenings, with their national, political and economic demands, and it will then be seen, as has always been the case in the past, that national aspirations and demand for independence under present conditions can no longer be kept back, or solved by means of rifles and guns.

New U. S. Military Arrangements in Asia

AT THE LONDON session of the Baghdad Pact Council last July the USA breached the obligation to sing bilateral military arrangements with the Asian member-countries. The events in Iraq constituted the immediate cause underlying this decision, as they actually wrecked almost all plans and hopes linked with the Baghdad Pact. The overthrow of Nuri Sayed and his regime confronted Western powers with two deplorable facts: first, that a carefully put together military mechanism can be shattered overnight even by purely internal developments, and second, that the internal stability of regimes closely bound to the policy of the western countries is highly questionable.

Instead of leading to a genuine and thorough re-consideration of the policy of military arrangements — namely the realization of their untenability and harmfulness in regions which tend increasingly to adopt independent and unaligned positions in international relations — the essence of Western policy remained unchanged. The only concrete result consisted in the decision to recourse to other, by no means novel, forms of bloc policy, i. e., bilateral military agreements with the members of a multilateral military arrangement. This means that Turkey, which is already a member of the NATO and of the Baghdad Pact, will also be associated with the USA by a bilateral defence treaty; it is the same with Pakistan, for which the agreement with the USA constitutes the third simultaneous military arrangement (Pakistan is a member of both the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO). In a certain sense the position of Iran is different, as the latter is only a member of the Baghdad Pact, and has been signatory to a non-

aggression treaty of long standing with the USSR (since 1921). By concluding the bilateral pact with the USA, Iran virtually rejected the possibility of renewing the non-aggression treaty with the USSR, precisely at the moment when a Soviet delegation arrived in Teheran for that purpose.

By the signature of the bilateral arrangements with the USA, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are still more deeply involved in the bloc policy pursued by the Western countries. If it is true that bloc policy constitutes the principal source of international tension, then the conclusion of these arrangements is contrary to the aims of any peace-loving policy. So much for the international aspect of these bloc arrangements. Their effects however, will also extend to the struggle against so-called „ultimate aggression“, in other words internal subversion. Actually this is a highly ambiguous term, which had already afforded the pretext for big power intervention in the internal affairs of the countries included in the bloc arrangements. From this point of view, the latest US activities in Asia seem both harmful and incompatible with the right of every people to manage their internal affairs by themselves.

For these and other reasons, the bilateral military arrangements concluded by the USA with the Asian members of the Baghdad Pact cannot meet with the approval of international public opinion at a moment when it is more than ever obvious that only a policy of independence and non-alignment in military arrangements can provide a genuine contribution to peace and international security.

DEADLOCK IN THE GENEVA TALKS

S. MALIC

THE conversations to end nuclear-weapons testing are somewhat deadlocked again. However, the difficulties likely to occur in the present phase of the solving of this problem should not dare to prove insuperable or insoluble.

In conditions of a real readiness of the governments, a confirmed technical feasibility of control, and a most widespread mood of world public opinion in favour of ending nuclear-weapons testing, the Geneva conference could produce an adequate agreement for a general discontinuation of all nuclear and thermonuclear experiments within a relative short time, taking off the agenda one of the most important international issues and simultaneously facilitating settlement of other open problems.

During the Geneva conversations, which opened on October 31, 1958, so far there have been adopted four articles of the future convention.* Those four articles of the convention had been adopted comparatively smoothly, since, actually, they deal with the principles or framework rather than concrete solutions or a definition of the functions and responsibilities attendant on control. Article 5, and some other articles of the future convention under discussion in Geneva, would provide a solution, among other things, also for the question of decision-making in the Controlling Commission, as well as for the question of the Commission's composition, over which the conference has in fact become deadlocked in this phase.

On the question of the Commission's decision-making, the Soviet Union takes the view that decisions should be made by majority vote, except in connection with some questions of substance, including those of supervision and control, when unanimous decision by the nuclear powers would be required. The Soviet Union has submitted a special list of these questions, grouped into seven categories.

In connection with the composition of the controlling stations, the Soviet Union considers that these must primarily have a national character, to wit, that a station should be manned by about 30 persons, including 4 to 5 foreigners in the capacity of controllers and the rest being citizens of the country on whose territory a station is located.

The Americans and British maintain that they cannot accept the principle of unanimity of the nuclear powers as suggested by the U.S.S.R.

Regarding the composition of the personnel of the controlling stations, the two Western powers consider that it should be fully international and have proposed that a half of the station personnel on the territory of the U.S.S.R. be Anglo-American, and that a half of the station personnel on

the territories of U.S.A. and Great Britain be the citizens of U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Union, defending its attitude on the above issues, argues that, without the application of the principle of unanimity in making decisions on the individual questions of substance (the veto), the U.S.S.R. would be placed in an unequal position considering that the other side would have a built-in majority which could pass practically any decisions, even those directed against the vital interests of the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. is opposed to a complete internationalization of the controlling stations as suggested by the Western powers, since it considers that 4 to 5 foreign controllers per station would suffice for successful control and that insistence on a larger number of aliens, coupled with the other demands, suggests an intention for those individuals to pursue other, illicit, tasks on the territory of another — espionage.

On their side, U.S.A. and Great Britain are opposed to the principle of unanimity on questions of control and inspection, since they deem that that would fetter control, causing it to lose its meaning. In other words, the Western powers consider that adoption of the principle of unanimity in connection with control would make it possible to evade control.

The two Western powers are also explaining their insistence on a complete internationalization of controlling stations by their interest in precluding every circumvention of control. They, therefore, consider that the presence of not more than 4 to 5 foreigners at a controlling station is insufficient and that it would afford possibilities for secret breaches of agreement.

Given such attitudes by both the one and the other side, the Geneva talks have become virtually deadlocked. This deadlock has actually lasted for a fairly long time, and it could hardly be ascribed to objective difficulties. Today it has become clear enough to all that the future agreement to end the testing should safeguard, inter alia, these two fundamental considerations as well: to bar practical possibilities for a clandestine continuation of nuclear tests and to preclude control of the ending of tests from serving any aims other than those declared, and least of all those in any way jeopardizing the countries subject to control. The remaining differences in views relating to the measure in which these two elements, too, are safeguarded by the proposals made are not large and, basically, could not in themselves provide the reason for procrastination and the stalemate in negotiations.

The reasons of the deadlock should rather be sought in the fundamental political concepts of the countries engaged in the negotiations, which countries apparently are not yet duly prepared and resolved to accept the policy of ending nuclear-weapons tests as the only reasonable one in the conditions today, and to do so without linking it with the other problems and without any unnecessary stipulations. The emergence of the question of Berlin and Germany into the forefront of international attention seems to have caused a slowing down of the development of the Geneva negotiations. A tendency further to retard a solution of the problem of ending the testing and a possible intent to condition this by

* Article 1 provides the obligation to end the testing and influence other countries to abstain from proceeding to testing; Article 2 provides for the establishment of a controlling organization and the obligation of co-operation with that organization; Article 3 cites four organs for implementation of control, viz., the Control Commission, the Conference of the signatories, the Registration Staff, and the Administrator; Article 4 lays down the framework of the Commission, which would comprise seven members, including three permanent (representing the three nuclear powers) and four non-permanent ones, the last to be elected for a particular term.

the settlement of other political problems is both inexplicable and basically unacceptable in the present phase of international relations. It is impermissible to interconnect the solution of an issue which has already been set aside for separate settlement and which, objectively speaking, already finds itself in the phase of a positive conclusion, with questions whose solving in a concrete form is only pending.

World public opinion, being familiar with the tremendous dangers caused to mankind by nuclear explosions being familiar with the conclusions of experts from the East and

the West that an efficacious control of discontinuation of the testing is feasible, and being also familiar with the declared preparedness of both the one and the other side to end the testing, rightfully expects the Geneva talks to be speeded up and concluded shortly by a general ending of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons-testing. Such a positive step, unquestionably, would soon have a beneficial effect on the general international atmosphere, opening wider the door to further negotiations also on disarmament and other outstanding international questions.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

Working Relations in Workers' Self-Management

Dr. Aleksandar BALTIC

1. By introducing communal ownership of the means of production and the system of workers' self-management, a new process in economy has begun in Yugoslavia, a process to transform the position of the direct producers, which means an improvement in the place of the workers in society. In its present from the system of workers' self-management in economy means the formation and development of relations in production, based on the ownership of the means of production, in which the immediate producer not only participates by his work in the communal production, but also actively and directly shares in the management and distribution of the communal products, both within the framework of the economic organization, and also of the whole society, through the producers' councils of the communities, districts, republics and the Federation. In this way the producer is placed „in the position of deciding the use and distribution of the communal products, and simultaneously of benefiting immediately from the communal products which he makes within the framework of socially organized production“. Thus the direct producer is no longer a hired labourer, but a member of a collective which has definite democratic rights of management (though not of ownership). Regarding this the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia states as follows: The new communal position of the producers in socialist construction, and their changed relationship towards production, arises from the fact that the producers have been transformed from hired labourers into actual directors of production and distribution, and from the fact that through this management they are realizing their personal interests: higher wages, increased personal and communal social standards" (139). Thus the producer as an individual and the collective directly influence their own material position. And the relationship of the producer within the socialist economic organization too is no longer, either generally or basically, the class relationship of a hired labourer towards the employer, the antagonistic relationship between labour and capital which exists in capitalistic production, based on capitalistic ownership of the means of production and on the exploitation of the worker himself by the capitalist. Because of this, social relations based on work — that is, the working relations in the process of socialist communal production — lose the character of paid work.

2. Because of our situation today and in view of the legislation regarding the requirements of our social and eco-

nomical development, a more precise arrangement of the new character of working relationships in workers' self-management is necessary.

In our socialist economic organizations, the work of the whole working collective — and each individual worker also — is linked with the right of direct participation in the management of the enterprise, on the basis of full equality of the direct producers. As through the system of workers' self-management (i. e. the workers' councils) the worker is freed from the capitalist or state administrative apparatus (that is from any interference and subordination to others), it follows that his work is conceived and developed as the work of a free producer — work which, as a social function, is carried on in the name of the social unit, and to the benefit both of the worker himself and of the community. From the social point of view, then, such work in the communal means of production links the general and personal interests of the individual, and is changing the concrete social and economic situation of the worker in production and society, that is to say, from the former passive producer he is now growing into a free creator and communal worker. On this point the programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists states: Communal ownership of the means for production makes possible the elimination, not only of private ownership, but even eventually of the state as an intermediary between the producer and the means for production. The producer becomes the representative of the social function of management of production, and at the same time an active participator in the function of distribution of the communal products, so that the state as a political power is less and less manifested in actual production". (138). And further: „In the circumstances of socialist communal self-management it is necessary to make it possible for the workers to decide on the manufacture and entire distribution of the products. Only in such circumstances does the working man gain full insight into the necessary material trends and free himself — that is to say, by ordering his working and social activity according to the necessary material framework of society he becomes the master of his fate" (p. 140). Thus the work of the producer becomes free work.

As the work (working function) of the direct producer is linked with his right to manage production, this right also enters into the conception and essence of working relations.

The conception of definite social relations results from the actual essence of these relations. As a legal connection the working relationship links the direct producer to the economic organization. But the working relationship is not only concerned with this link. It represents the complex active social work conditions of the producer. In workers' self-management there have appeared some important changes in quality in these conditions: the worker-producer becomes at the same time a direct active participator in the management of the economic organization, i. e. to his right to work in the enterprise is added the new right to manage the enterprise. There is, consequently, no difference between the producer and the manager, as both the work and the right of management (i. e., work and social activity and initiative) are united in the same person — the producer-worker. And precisely in the light of these facts there is taking place a transformation and liquidation of the old relationship, and there is appearing a new relationship, which is gradually freeing itself from internal contradictions and remaining class oppositions, parallel with the social process of the development of self-management by the producer in production, and with the further development of democracy in our social system, and of new socialist relations between people.

In this new relationship and state there are two basic, inseparable components: work with the communal means of production; and the right of the producer-worker to manage these means. This is what constitutes the nucleus and the essence of the social relationship in the system of workers' self-management. And this very right, because it is included in the actual foundation of the social relationship, exerts on its part a further influence on that relationship, on its further development, on its changes, and on its transformation into a new relationship.

On the other hand, because the right of management is also a basic part of the communal working relationship, it exerts an influence even on the character of this relationship. If the new is accepted that the right of management of workers' collectives (that is the united producers) is a new social or socio-political right — a right which bears a legal or a social character, a right which appears more and more as the sum of definite social sanctions, (and duties) given to the workers' collective by the society — then the working relationship gains more and more in social, legal and public character and significance, which is then transferred to the legal status and situation of the workers and employees in the economic organizations. The social significance and character of the working relationship itself which, owing to this, loses its predominant features of ownership and obligation, gives to this relationship greater status and an ever more personal, and social character. This is no longer primarily an obligatory relationship of the exchange of work for reward, a relationship which has a private and legal character. Thus the working relationship in our social system is appearing and developing as a manifestation of the communal working function which is performed, both in the personal interest of the individual and in the interest of the whole society, in the particular working place of a particular socialist economic organization, and the realization of this relationship gives rise to definite rights and obligations. This relationship appears as the legal expression and form of the realization of communal organization of work in communally organized production by the direct producers united in their working collectives, i. e., the economic organizations.

3. Having such a character and features the work relationship has found its place also in the new law on work relationship passed in December 1957. Confirming the rule that work relationships in Yugoslavia result from free work and that they are set up in the economic organizations whose means are communally owned (paragraph 1) and that on the basis of their working relations the workers gain the right

of managing the economic organization (paragraph 4), the law on working relations lays down a particular order regarding working relationships in economic organizations, in which it is stressed that the position, rights and obligations of the workers in economic organizations are fixed and provided for by communal ownership of the means of production, and by the system of self-management of working collectives, that the workers directly and through the organs of management independently decide regarding their mutual relations resulting from the collective work in the economic organization, that the working collective, after fulfilling its obligations towards society, independently decides on the use of the acquired income and fixes the personal incomes of its members on the basis of the success in work of each of them, and of that the whole working collective, and that the latter should independently decide on employment and breaking working relations, and on other questions of the personal status of the workers, in accordance with the rules of the law (paragraphs 124—126).

All these basic ideas are treated in more detail in further paragraphs of the law regulating the legal position of the worker, which results from his work and from his position in the economic organization. It is most important, however, to stress that the right of management has had a decisive influence — that is to say, it has reached its highest expression both in regularizing the contents, shape and form of a legal working relationship, and in the basic features or elements of this relationship. It is sufficient to point out the following fundamental changes which have begun in the basic features and essence of the working relationship, and which have found their place in the actual law on working relationships.

Incorporation in an economic organization as an element of the working relationship means the attachment of the workers and employees to one particular working place (business). In this working place the worker carries out a particular work function (work) in accordance with the regulations set up by the economic organization, fulfilling the work obligations, rules and orders of the responsible leaders. But in accordance with what was said above regarding the right of management, the worker-producer is no longer merely the executor of his personal work function and obligation to work as set down in the regulations, but as a producer he becomes also a member of the working collective, and thus bears the right to co-operate in the management of the enterprise, and this means that he directly participates in the performance of definite rights, based on the People's Charter, social plans, and other legal regulations which pertain to the working collective, and also the right to elect or to be elected to the representative body of the economic organization. In this way the worker (employee) participates in the independent planning of production and in the economic business of the enterprise, in the regularization of the internal organization of the work, in defining the norms of the economic organization (the regulations of the enterprise, the order regarding work relations, tariff code and other acts of this type), in the election and dismissal of members of the workers' council, in the distribution of personal income, as well as in the solution of other questions which come within the scope of the working collective.

Thus the element of subordination, so characteristic of the capitalistic paid-worker relationship, is not a legal reflection of some form of economic subordination of the worker to the owner of the enterprise. For the workers themselves manage the enterprise, but represents only a necessary form of communal organization of mutual work and mutual production. In workers' self-management, the basic aim of this subordination is to provide for the regular functioning of the socialist enterprise, to strengthen the work and discipline in the relations which result in the process of realizing active

work, and by this to ensure success in the business of the working collective or enterprise. Thus subordination gains more and more the character of social subordination, as the concern of the collective itself which independently manages the enterprise, in which the mutual work is based on the free initiative of each member and of the whole working collective, on friendly co-operation, free of any economic and political pressure. The legal expression of such subordination is incorporated in the powers of the leaders and organs in the enterprise elected by the workers themselves to direct the process of production, within the limits and on the basis of the rules governing the internal affairs of the enterprise and of the decisions made by the workers, (i. e., the working collective, the workers' organs of management in the enterprise), and not by some third party or organ outside the enterprise or working collective. This is what is essential and new in this type of subordination. It means nothing more than self-subordination to one's own working arrangement, that is, to the leadership, which is responsible for giving directions, orders and trends during the work, and has the power to take measures against breaking work discipline.

In these circumstances the work discipline too gains the true character of social discipline, which the workers and employees in socialist economic organizations are personally interested in preserving and strengthening, because on their discipline depends success in the work of the whole enterprise, working collective and each individual member, and also realization and participation in the distribution of the personal income of the workers. Thus the preservation and strengthening of work discipline in the new circumstances has also a strong material basis. Briefly, the right to participate in the management of the enterprise, the inseparable connection between collective and individual interests and personal interest in the success of the enterprise — these are basic guarantees for the strengthening of real socialist work discipline. On this will also depend the rise in productivity, the quality of the productivity, the quality of the products, and the manifestation of relations and friendly co-operation between workers and employees, with the aim of increasing their mutual success which, at the same time, means the personal success of each individual member of the working collective. Bearing all this in mind the law on working relations in its regulations (paragraphs 263—301, 345—358) gives a new meaning to work discipline and responsibility, as well as to internal relations in economic organizations.

Changes can also be seen in the personal income of the workers. From the whole new system of personal incomes of the workers there results an essential change in the very character and structure of reward to workers for work performed. The personal income of the worker-producer is no longer similar, either in form or features, to the "pay" of former times, and even less to the wages in the hired relationship between worker and employer.

Personal income directly gains the character of participation and sharing by the workers in the mutual realization of the products of their work, which goes beyond the limits of the conception of "pay". Personal income actually represents the continuation of apportioning the income of the enterprise. The personal income is arranged by the producers themselves and not by some higher authority outside the economic organization; it depends entirely on them, on their mutual work, and on the united efforts of the workers as producers and managers of the communal production and distribution of the communal products, so that the personal income appears as the result of the conscious and organized contribution of the producers within the framework of the social plan. There is no need to point out that in such circumstances the personal interest of the worker and the general interest of the whole community are so bound up one with another that they finally represent a common interest. All this is confirmed by paragraphs 183—224 of the law on working re-

lations, and by the regulations brought into force on the basis of this law.

Finally it must be stressed that the right of management has had a decisive influence also on making arrangements and norms for individual rights (and obligations) in the realm of the working relationship, with the acceptance of new rights and the widening of existing rights, that in accordance with workers' self-management the law has defined the right of the working collective, that is, the workers' council, to regularize by its regulations on norms (on the basis of general orders) the work conditions and rights and obligations in the field of working relations in the economic organization (paragraph 14 and paragraphs 345—368), and also to make independent decisions on the concrete solution of work conditions and rights and obligations, on the employment of workers and on the breaking of working relations etc. (paragraphs 138—146, 317—342, 369—370 and others of the Law on working relations).

4. This analysis given in general outline, only shows the basic changes which are appearing in the character, essence and structure of working relationships within workers' self-management. Further development will take place parallel with the progress of workers' self-management itself, and with the socialist construction of our society. But it can already be said today that in the working relationship — which still exists as a legal conception and category — in the socialist economic organizations, transformations have begun, both in character and in structure, which illustrate that in these relations there are being born and developed new social elements of free association of the direct producers who work in communal production and out of the communal products fix their own personal income, of an association whose realization will, at the same time, mean the cessation of working relations in the present sense and meaning. Thus the real social content of this process is the development of self-management of the

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producers in production, and of social self-management in general.

5. Finally, in studying working relations within workers' self-management it is also necessary to point out the following. In some capitalist countries today there is being introduced so-called economic democracy as a system of relationship in the enterprise, in which the workers themselves, as well through their representatives, have a certain amount of say in the management of the enterprise (England, France, West Germany, Belgium and some other countries). Under the influence of this democracy, some writers in these countries speak of the enterprises as a union of workers and employers in which both sides are closely linked by mutual relationships. Thus, a work relationship can no longer be based on a contract for the exchange of work for money; it loses the characteristics of an obligatory relationship and gains a new and more human feature, and because of this, changes have appeared in the working relationship itself.

But none of the changes which have taken place or are taking place in the law and theory of capitalist countries, apart from a certain humanizing and moderate democratization of relations in the enterprise, can change the character and essence of the relations between the workers and the owners of the enterprise. The Workers' councils and councils or committees of enterprises in these countries are the result of the development of the productive forces, of economic and social development, the result of relations between the proletariat, which is the real bearer of production, and the class of owners of the means for production. And under the pressure of the demands of the working class, a so-called economic democracy has made its appearance. Certainly some social elements, or socialist tendencies, have at the same time crept into this system of managing the enterprise. But, on the other hand, it is clear that such types of participation of producers in the management of production do not alter or ba-

sically change the essence of the ruling relationships in capitalist enterprises. There can be no talk of setting up of new relationships, of equality, democratic socialist co-operation on the basis of the full right of the producer to self-management in economy, for this is only possible in a social system where communal ownership of the means for production exists, and where the management of the economic organizations is left to the direct producers themselves. Indeed, the form of economic democracy only results from this or that formal change in relationship between the worker and the owner of the means for production, and it means a moderate democratization of the social, or more exactly, the political power of the capitalists towards the working collective; but the economic relations, that is the relations of the working collective towards the means for production and the distribution of the products of work, are not in the least democratized. Thus the relationship between the workers and the employers in essence still remains a relationship of hire and exploitation. Thus, as the ruling economic relationship in production and distribution has not undergone any change regarding the working collective, and as they are still relations between work and capital, and as such basically antagonistic, one cannot speak about some kind of working union with full rights, about solidarity and co-operation between the workers and employers, about equality of association between work and capital, or about a union of closely linked interests of workers and capitalists, because these interests are in permanent, inter-class opposition. Because of this, the theory of working relationship based on the legal union of workers and capitalist-employers represents an idealization of existing relations, a fiction, a deviation from or concealing of economic and social reality as it exists in the relations between production and distribution in capitalism, and this has all been directed towards preserving the capitalist system, alleviating the class war, and diminishing the pressure of the working class.

Yugoslavia as a Tourist Country

Branko PAVIĆ

THE POST — WAR period opened vast new horizons for Yugoslavia in the field of international tourist trade. Before the first world war Yugoslavia attracted a fairly large number of tourists from the neighbouring and Central European countries. An even stronger flow of tourists and holiday-makers from Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Hungary was registered during the ten years or so that preceded World War II. In 1938 the number of foreign visitors to Yugoslavia reached the relatively impressive figure of 300,000 tourists with over 1.5 million nights booked. This favourable tendency was cut short by the war, and was resumed much later only at a rather uneven rate.

Yugoslavia has extremely favourable conditions for developing into an important tourist country. Owing to its geographical position she provides the most convenient and shortest mainland and air routes between Western Europe, the Near East and the African and Asian continents. The 1950 kilometre long Adriatic seaboard, with its thousand islands, its varied and luxuriant vegetation, and sunny and sandy beaches offers ideal vacations from April to October. Slovenia, the alpine part of Yugoslavia has reached the standards of the most developed tourist countries, as far as hotel accommodation, transport services and other facilities are concerned.

Her rich historical and cultural heritage, dense forests full of valuable game, special game preserves and hunting grounds, excellent conditions for skin diving and fishing, colourful folklore, and museums in the republican centres and other cities constitute a vast national treasury which Yugoslavia offers, in addition to her warm hospitality and scenic beauty, to tourists from all countries, irrespective of nationality, religion, creed or colour. Every tourist is welcome. But these potentialities and the tendencies noted in tourist trade during the past few years — namely the ever stronger flow of holidaymakers to the Mediterranean area — are still far from utilised in Yugoslavia. There are several reasons for this.

The war wrought such ravages and caused such widespread devastation on Yugoslav territory that it took a very long time to reconstruct the damaged or destroyed hotel and transport capacities. This was partly due to the lack of the necessary financial resources, as there were hundreds of more urgent requirements which absorbed the funds available. It is only of late that Yugoslavia has increased her investments in the tourist trade. Spacious new hotels have now been built in most transit centres and the bigger tourist resorts, and substantial funds have been spent on the modernization of railway, highway and marine transport and the construction of

various public utilities. In 1958 alone about eleven billion dinars worth of credits were granted, to be used for the construction of new and the reconstruction of the available hotel accommodation in the leading tourist resorts, the purchase of transport vehicles for tourist requirements, the construction of public utility projects and hotels along the newly-built and modernized highway arteries. Needless to say, compared to the funds invested and results obtained in the big tourist countries these figures do not seem particularly impressive. Nevertheless, by 1960 the Yugoslav hotels will have 4,600 more beds, and this is quite a satisfactory result when judged by Yugoslav standards.

The Yugoslav tourist trade increased notably in 1958, not only as compared to the pre-war level, but also in terms of composition by nationality. This is shown by the following survey.

Country	Number of Visitors	
	1938	1958
Austria	11,298	112,441
Belgium	2,184	15,114
Czechoslovakia	39,901	13,871
Denmark	—	10,393
France	8,831	40,797
Greece	1,805	18,697
Holand	2,991	16,334
East Germany	—	14,120
Italy	13,477	57,557
Hungary	20,393	6,316
Poland	4,910	9,024
USA	5,169	24,783
USSR	—	7,232
Switzerland	4,870	18,160
Sweden	2,665	13,383
Great Britain	13,106	51,224
West Germany	135,972	140,835
Other European countries	—	9,065
Other overseas countries	1,167	19,424

The above survey indicates that Yugoslavia has begun to attract even tourist from remote countries. But this country is still not in a position to compete seriously with other countries, especially those which have succeeded in creating a strong material basis for their tourist trade. Therefore increased investments will be made with a view to promoting the material basis for the tourist trade in Yugoslavia.

Apart from investments in hotel construction, careful attention is being devoted to the construction of new roads and the modernization of the existing highway network. It is already possible to drive from Austria and Italy to Ljubljana and Belgrade and further south through Valjevo, Kragujevac and Paraćin on modern asphalt paved roads which will also link up with Skopje in two years time, while alternating asphalt and macadam sections already reach as far as the Yugoslav-Greek frontier.

The Adriatic master-highway, which runs from Trieste via Istria and Kvarner to Zadar, will also link Dubrovnik and

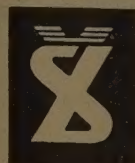
the Montenegrin Littoral with the Belgrade — Salonika motor-highway a few years time. These two arteries will play an important part in the promotion of the tourist trade, especially transit through Yugoslavia.

About 950,000 persons with 321,000 motor vehicles, of which 264,124 were private cars, entered Yugoslavia in 1958.

The big new airport near Belgrade will be able to receive the heaviest jet aircraft, which are being used to an ever-great extent in modern commercial aviation, and thus contribute to the promotion of the Yugoslav tourist trade.

In this way Yugoslavia's scenic beauties, warm sunshine and sea will be accessible to our guests from the far-away Scandinavian countries, the British Isles, and overseas regions.

Customs, passport, exchange and other regulations have been liberalized to the same extent as in other countries. The prices of board and lodging are below the general European level, and therefore highly competitive. Yugoslavia is known as the cheapest tourist country in Europe.



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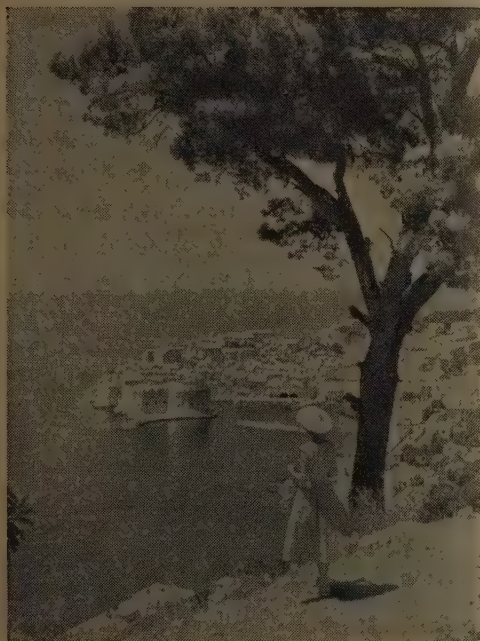
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„DRAGOSLAV ĐORĐEVIĆ - GOŠA“

RAILWAY CAR AND STEEL STRUCTURES FACTORY

SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA

THE FACTORY was founded in 1923 under the name „JASENICA“ and work started in 1924. At first, the factory had rather the characteristics of a medium sized repair workshop employing a total of about 40 workers. The work consisted exclusively of repairing and rebuilding railway freight cars and, after some time, passenger coaches as well. Towards the end of 1925 it was decided to start work on the building of new railway cars, and in 1926 the first two-axle, 3-rd class passenger coaches left the Factory. During the years that followed the factory was considerably enlarged increasing at the same time the production. From 1931 on, the Factory was mainly occupied with the building of new carriages for the Yugoslav State Railways. In the same year to the manufacturing programme was added the assembly and construction of steel bridges for railways and highways. By 1940 the Factory employed 900 workers with a steady trend towards enlargement and increased output.

During the war, the Factory worked at very reduced capacity, with only about a third of its workers on the payroll. After the war, however, the factory soon resumed work at full capacity and the workers totalled already more than 1000. Apart from building new and repairing

damaged and used railway cars, the factory was likewise engaged in rebuilding destroyed and building new railway and highway bridges all over the country, and took part in the construction of such important projects as the new highway bridge across the Sava river at Belgrade and the new combined railway-highway bridge across the Danube, near Belgrade.

Together with the increased production and the expanding production programme came the addition of new buildings, so that at present there are practically two factories — the old and the new one. One of the largest buildings in the new part of the factory is the assembly hall, which includes a yard for raw materials handling, an annex and a large store room. The hall itself is 110 met. wide and 300 met. long offering a covered floor area of 33.000 sqm. This hall is fully equipped with up-to-date machinery and tools and other facilities as well, to ensure a most efficient and economical production. Next to this building a modern carpentry workshop has been built for the mechanical processing of timber, including a drying kiln and a large lumber yard. Furthermore, a new painting department has been built, fitted with modern heating and ventilation equip-

ment as well as with all other facilities, which make this shop one of the most modern of its kind in Europe. Apart from these and some other new departments of the Factory, further improvements include an industrial boarding school training an average of 400 apprentices. For the workers and employees many new apartment buildings have been built, housing over 1200 workers. For the accommodation of visitors and guests very comfortable rooms are also available.

After the war, the factory has introduced the production in series of new railway carriages and cars to its own design. The first four-axle passenger coaches to be built in Yugoslavia were built in this Factory. These coaches are 26.4 met long, of all-welded steel construction, fully streamlined, and built for speeds up to 140 k.p.h. The factory has also built two types of mail-coaches, with one and with two mail storage compartments. These coaches are likewise 26.4 met long, have two two-axle bogies, and are of welded all-steel construction. Passenger carriages were built in the following combinations — all 3-rd class, all 2-nd class, combined 2-nd and 3-rd class. After the abolition of the 3-rd class, the coaches are built as all 2-nd class or combined 2-nd and 1-st class carriages. These modern, new carriages are included into trains in international traffic.

Apart from the above mentioned types of passenger carriages the factory builds also special de-luxe carriages of modern design such as: sleeping cars, dining cars, state cars, lounge cars, etc. These coaches have a special steel construction and fulfil all the demands of a railway car both as to speed and safety as well as to appearance, comfort and economy.

The Factory builds various types of mail-coaches with particular attention to the comfort of the mail clerks working in the coaches during even the longest journeys. One of the important fields of activity of the factory is the building of freight cars of all types, particularly,



The bridge across the Sava river at Belgrade in the building of which the DRAGOSLAV ĐORĐEVIĆ-GOŠA factory participated

closed vans to latest international regulations, for all tonnages and haulage requirements.

BY INTRODUCING new products into the manufacturing programme, the „DRAGOSLAV DJORDJEVIĆ-GOŠA“ railway car and steel structure factory, has considerably extended its field of activity and at present the factory builds and delivers:

— Railway carriages with four axles, mail coaches, dining cars, sleeping cars motor-coaches, complete motor trains, railway cars and carriages of every description;

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— Electric and Diesel locomotives.



— Cars and trucks for mines, steelworks and rope-ways.

— All sorts of motor vehicles — buses and coaches for city, long distance and suburban traffic; commercial vehicles of various ratings as well as trailers for lorries; tank-cars for the transportation of liquid fuels as well as motor vehicles for special purposes.

— Special motor vehicles for the cleaning of cesspools and gully emptiers.

— Trolleybuses and tramcars,

— All sorts of steel structures, bridges, industrial buildings and halls, tanks for liquids and gases, pipelines, etc.

— Mechanical equipment, cranes, complete rope-ways and component parts for same, belt conveyors and elevators,

— Steel silos of 2000, 4000, 6000 and 10.000 tons capacity,

— All kinds of pressed products, rivets and screws,

— Presswork to order, pressed sections of steel and non-ferrous metal sheets.

The factory has its own technical department for the study and design of the above equipment.

Besides building new equipment as indicated above, the factory executes all sorts of erection works on steel constructions, mechanical transportation and elevating equipment.

For further informations concerning exports, please apply to the commercial dept. of the factory, Smederevska Palanka, ul. Braće Marjanović, or to the factory office, Belgrade, Obilićev Venac 17, Tel. 20-642.

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Yugoslav Attitude on...

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. — "Unfortunately the stalemate which set in at the Geneva talks on the suspension of nuclear experiments is still continuing. We hope, however, that fresh efforts will be made in order to overcome the present difficulties."

KHRUSHCHEV'S PROPOSAL TO HOLD SUMMIT CONFERENCE. — Requested to state his views concerning the proposal recently advanced at a pre-election meeting in Moscow by the Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchev on the convocation of a summit conference, and President Eisenhower's reaction to this proposal, the official spokesman declared that the level of the conference is not the vital point in this context. It is the genuine readiness to talk and willingness to negotiate solutions of the outstanding problems that is essential.

MACMILLAN'S VISIT TO MOSCOW. — "It is to be desired that the present talks of Premier Macmillan in Moscow should yield positive results which would enable the creation of the necessary conditions for the negotiations of solutions for the outstanding international issues. We are not in a position to judge what effect this would have on the attitude of the Soviet Government towards Yugoslavia. There is no reason why a constructive agreement between East and West should not have a positive effect also on the situation in this part of Europe," stated the official spokesman when asked by a foreign journalist whether the talks held by the British Prime Minister in Moscow might be expected to lead to a new agreement between East and West, and whether perhaps as a result of such an agreement, similar arrangements might be concluded between the USSR and the East European countries and Yugoslavia.

SYNGMAN RHEE'S STATEMENT. — Commenting on the attitude of President Syngman Rhee of South Korea who declared that South Korea would "go to extremes" in case the Japanese government repatriates the Koreans living in Japan who wish to return to North Korea, the official spokesman stated: "The attitude of Syngman Rhee is not only unreasonable and absurd, but also contrary to international law and can only aggravate the situation in that part of the world."

(Extracts from the News Conference held by the Official Spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on February 27).

THE BALKAN PACT. — Asked whether he had anything to add to his previous statements in connection with the reports of certain papers and radio stations on the alleged revival of the Balkan Pact, the official spokesman stated: "We do not wish to dwell on the various intrigues and combinations of certain press circles in the West and East. All there was to say on the Balkan Pact has already been said."

STATEMENTS OF KIVOU STOIKA. — "Our attitude on this proposal was stated previously when Premier Stoika advanced it first. It may be recalled that in his answer to Premier Stoika of September 13, 1957 President Tito stated that Yugoslavia always indorsed the development of friendly relations between neighbouring countries and urged cooperation between all nations irrespective of social and political systems. Therefore the proposal to hold a consultation of the heads of state of the Balkan countries was considered positive. The

opinion of the Yugoslav Government on the subject remains unchanged."

ANTI-YUGOSLAV SPEECH OF ENVER HOXHA. — Asked whether he had anything to add to the communiqué issued by the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in connection with the anti-Yugoslav speech delivered by Enver Hoxha in the Albanian Parliament, the official spokesman stated that the whole matter is currently under consideration and that the steps to be taken in connection with the dangerous, irresponsible and slanderous policy pursued of late by the Albanian Government against Yugoslavia are also being contemplated.

THE MACMILLAN — KHRUSHCHEV TALKS. — "We consider it significant that in the joint communiqué issued, the British Premier Macmillan and the Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev should have declared themselves in favour of the principle of settling differences of opinion by means of negotiation and not by recourse to force."

THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV CAMPAIGN. — "The political attacks made against Yugoslavia by the countries of the socialist camp by means of provocations and increase of tension, are increasingly assuming the form of interference in the internal affairs of our country and ever stronger pressure against Yugoslavia. Such a policy is obviously contrary to the principles of coexistence to which these countries proclaim to adhere."

THE EVENTS IN NYASALAND. "The events in Nyasaland and those recently registered in the Belgian Congo clearly testify that the time of colonial methods of rule is past. The awakened and growing national consciousness of the African peoples seeks the adoption of their justified demands for self-government and independence without delay."

(Extracts from the News Conference held by the Official Spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on March 6).

RELATIONS WITH WEST GERMANY. — "Certain contacts were established with a view to restoring diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of West Germany, but these talks were suspended owing to the attitude of the Bonn representatives who conditioned the renewal of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia by a modification of the Yugoslav relations with the Democratic Republic of East Germany. Yugoslavia cannot accept any such conditions, irrespective whether they imply the rupture or "freezing" of relations with the Democratic Republic of East Germany as such conditions are contrary to our independent foreign policy. We are surprised that that the Federal Republic does not realize the untenability of its attitude, especially in view of the latest developments in connection with the German problem. I would wish to repeat, however, that Yugoslavia still considers the restoration of diplomatic relations both desirable and possible, as this would not only benefit the two countries but also contribute to the improvement of the political climate in Europe."

PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY. — "The principled attitude of Yugoslavia concerning the Peace Treaty with Germany is already known. This view has also been formulated in the

note to the Soviet Government of February 3. Nothing has happened which would require the further elaboration of the Yugoslav views. We are carefully following the development of events and if necessary will formulate our views in greater detail. We consider that the correctness and constructive character of our attitude has been borne out by the developments noted so far, while not embarking on the assessment of the individual detailed proposals or steps made on either side. More countries than those mentioned at present are interested in the problems which would be dealt with by such a conference. In the first place, all countries which were victims of fascist aggression are interested in such a conference. However the conference can only be successful if a general agreement is negotiated. Insistence on rigid formulae should be avoided as far as the various questions pertaining to the conference are concerned.

COOPERATION WITH INDIA. — Parallel with the development of political relations, economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and India also developed successfully during the past few years. This was manifested particularly in the manifold economic cooperation and sustained increase of commodity exchange. An official Indian trade delegation is expected in Yugoslavia this month. The delegation will discuss the possibilities for the further increase of over-all commodity exchange especially Yugoslav imports from India with a view to accomplishing a balanced trade. We are convinced that the forthcoming talks will yield positive results and contribute to the further expansion of economic co-operation between the two countries.

MISINFORMATION. — One of the newsmen present requested the official spokesman to state his views in connection with the malicious and tendentious reports published by some Turkish papers on Yugoslavia. Thus the paper „Yeni Gin“ wrote of the alleged intention of Yugoslavia and Greece to divide Albania between themselves. The daily „Huriet“ wrote in a similar vein. The comments printed in „Vardar“ the organ of the Albanian fascist emigrants concerning the Kosovo-Metohia region were also mentioned, as well as the report carried by „Yeni Gin“ on March 10 that Yugoslavia allegedly began concentrating troops along the Albanian frontier. The Ankara news agency was cited as the source of information. Drago Kunc replied that „this is not the first time that certain Turkish papers are maliciously and tendentiously distorting and misrepresenting the actual facts and truths on Yugoslavia. In point of fact this is a campaign of intrigue, its only interesting feature being that this time some Turkish papers, the press of the Albanian fascist emigration and part of the press of the socialist camp are writing along the same lines.

THE GENEVA TALKS. — I hope that sufficient progress will be made at the talks currently under way which would enable an agreement to be reached. At any rate the renewal of tests should be prevented, even if this should require prolonged negotiations.

MILITARY PACTS. — „Our negative attitude towards military blocs in general and bilateral pacts of this kind is already known. Such arrangements only lead to the further aggrava-

tion of international tension and cold war policy, especially at the present juncture when efforts are being made to settle the outstanding international issues by means of negotiation“.

(Extracts from the News Conference held by the Official Spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on March 13)

Some Words about...

Economic Development in 1958

INDUSTRY

The volume of industrial production rose by 11 percent in 1958, thus increasing by a total 29 percent over the past two years, and exceeding the average 11—12 percent annual increase foreseen by the Five-Year Plan.

FARM PRODUCTION

Notwithstanding the comparatively adverse weather in 1958, agricultural production was 19 percent above the 1947—1956 tenyear average, and 18 percent below the 1957 bumper crop.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION

The activities in this field increased by about 15 percent as compared to the previous year.

TRANSPORT

An increase of approximately 6 percent over 1957 was registered.

NATIONAL INCOME

Increased by 23.3 percent in 1958 as against 22.9 percent in 1957.

EMPLOYMENT

The number of persons employed rose by over 200,000 in 1958. Labour productivity in the non-agricultural branches was about 2 percent higher than in 1957.

EXPORTS

Total exports were valued at 137 billion dinars; or 15 percent more than in 1957. Exports of farm products rose by 29 percent and industrial deliveries by 10 percent.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

The balance of payments deficit was reduced to 21 billion as compared with 35 billion in 1957. This reduction was foreseen by the Plan.

INVESTMENTS

Total investments (in fixed and working capital) increased by about 2 percent in 1958.

INDIVIDUAL SPENDING

The purchasing power of the population and individual spending in 1958 was 9 percent higher than in the previous year.

President Tito's Speech in Skopje

On his return from a three months' visit to the countries of Asia and Africa, President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito made the following two speeches, before 200,000 people in Skopje on March 6, 1959, and before 300,000 people in Beograd the next day.

ALL OF us returning from the long trip abroad are deeply moved by the warm and cordial welcome you have accorded us here. Although I shall hardly find the adequate words for the purpose, allow me to convey at once the greetings and the messages of sympathy which the peoples of the countries we have visited have asked us to give you, and these peoples entertain deep sympathies towards and profound confidence in the peoples of our country.

What has created the confidence and sympathies of those peoples toward our country? It is the dignified stature of our people, the heroism displayed during the great Liberating War in the first place, the unanimity in our endeavours for the realization of a happier future, in the construction of socialism, our consistent and principled stand on numerous current international problems. Those peoples are very well aware that such a consistent attitude of a country not so large in geographical proportions, and not so densely populated, is not without certain sacrifices for us, but precisely that strikes them as important and inspires them with confidence that they themselves may be able to withstand the various pressures exerted upon them from the outside and overcome many of their internal difficulties.

I had received invitations to visit an even larger number of countries, but we have visited eight countries together with Greece. This time I have not been able to visit those five additional countries, for that would have been overly time-absorbing for us and it would have been well-nigh impossible to stand the physical strain, but we hope to visit them another time. For, even those countries which we did not visit desire us to come there, their leaders want their people to hear and see us in their midst. Here, it is a question of eleven or twelve countries of Asia and Africa, and it is comprehensible that there are other countries, too, which entertain sympathies toward our country over in those regions.

What does it mean that leading men in those countries, and the Governments, and the peoples have desired us to visit them? Can it mean that which some birds of woe had been hinting at, namely that Yugoslavia is suspended in mid-air and that she is isolated because she is reluctant to join either the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of the West or the so-called socialist camp of the East? When we came to those countries we saw that that whole business boiled down to ordinary wishful thinking by those fellows that we should be isolated, but in actual fact we not only were not isolated, but, on the contrary, we were more and more firmly bound with those countries and their peoples. We are bound to them by the same aspirations. Those peoples have deep confidence in Yugoslavia just because in our foreign policy we have consistently defended their interests before the United Nations, against colonial designs, and also because we have assisted them as much as we could in their liberating endeavours. They know that in the future, also, we shall be on their side and without any ulterior motives, without any desire to extract some personal benefit in the process. They know

that Yugoslavia is not a rich country, they know that she is not rich enough to help them as much as some great powers could but do not want to. They know that we would very gladly assist them also materially, if we could afford it. The moral support given to those peoples by Yugoslavia is far more important to them, and precisely this support has created for us positions which no slander whatever and no intrigues can undermine.

In those countries we have reached the deep conviction that those peoples ardently desire peace to be preserved, for they know what they can expect if it came to a new war. Many of them have gained their freedom, and many have not yet done so but are on the way to gaining it, and they know that in peace alone can they preserve their freedom and their better life. Those who have gained their freedom and who are independent today know that they can develop in peace alone, that only in peace they have opportunities for building their better life. We have seen that, with great enthusiasm and with vast efforts, they are making really big strides in their internal development. We have become convinced that, if something occurred which would threaten their independent position, those peoples today are prepared and capable of defending their independence. For, the same as in our case, they, too, are imbued with the unified idea that all peoples who desire peace should rally together into a powerful unified movement striving for peace and equal relations between peoples, in the striving for the realization of an active peace-loving co-existence.

Starting from that, I can deal today with some matters which we have heard during our trip abroad already, for throughout our trip we have been following what was taking place here as well, in this part of the world. I have to take up certain matters which are really very painful and shameful, if I may express myself thus, and I consider that I should express myself so.

While we are striving to further the principles of peaceful co-existence in the countries we visited, while we are striving toward the removal of the elements of mistrust between peoples and somehow to instill confidence both into those peoples and others, it is being charged that we had gone there to poison those countries' relations with some other countries, namely the Eastern countries. However, we have not spoken against anyone. You yourselves could have satisfied yourselves on that score. We have kept silent on these matters during this entire time, we clenched our teeth but kept silent in the face of all those vilifications, but here, in our country, we are going to speak up.

One is simply hard put to believe that today, after so many years of hard-won peace of sorts, some new Goebbelses should be cropping up here in the Balkans to make warinciting and slanderous speeches against our peace-loving country. Have our people deserved this, have we deserved witnessing every possible insinuation and calumnies being poured upon the people of our country today from so many sides?

We have always desired peace and we have believed that a solid foundation of future peace has been created in this part of the Balkans. But there you are, comrades, some Enver Hoxha is making a warinciting speech in Tirana, slinging slanders and lies at our country. We are sorry for the Albanian people that it is dogged by such ill-fate as to have men like that riding on its back, but that is an affair of the Albanian people. None the less we cannot permit that our country should be treated in such an irresponsible way. We cannot remain silent on such matters but have to tell them what they are, namely, that they are slanderers and that they are peddling lies. We have to tell them that it is untrue that we favour dismemberment of neighbouring Albania. She is a small country and why should it be dismembered? As far as we are concerned, we desire her to be unified, we wish happiness to that people, for they deserve happiness. They are spreading rumours that, reputedly, I have spoken in Greece about a partition of Albania. And actually, I have discussed with Greek statesmen the further consolidation of our friendly relations.

And a good thing it is, too, comrades, that we are having friendly relations with Greece at least, when we cannot have them, through no fault of ours, but the fault of the leaders of those other peoples, with those countries as well. Given this friendship between us and Greece still represents a strong foundation-stone of peace in this part of the Balkans, and they want to isolate us even there. But they shall not throw us off balance with slanders. What we do, do openly. We speak our mind in relation both to the East and the West. When something is wrong, we always say it is wrong and it ought to be done in such and such a way. But you see, comrades, the Bulgarian leaders, Zhivkov and his like, together with Enver and his like, are even resorting to irredentist undertakings today. Our country smells good to them, they would like to have lovely and flourishing Macedonia, which from a completely undeveloped land has turned into a developed one that will be developing even more rapidly.

Enver has again caught a whiff of Kosovo and Metohija and he has invented persecutions of the Shiptar population in that part of Yugoslavia. And what can those citizens of ours, the citizens of socialist Yugoslavia from Kosovo and Metohija, say except that they themselves also see that to be a total lie? Kosovo and Metohija are dear to us, and also that people living there and which is a component part of our socialist community. We shall seek to enable it to develop as much as possible, that even better living conditions be created for it as soon as possible, conditions such as are being created in all parts of our country where it has not yet been sufficiently possible to invest the necessary resources, where that is becoming increasingly possible every day and every year. But we shall not permit anyone's reaching out for what has been ours for centuries and centuries.

Comrades,

An Albanian newspaper first, and some Bulgarian and other papers next, had discovered that I had gone out to conduct some campaign in the countries of Asia and to create a quarrel between Nasser and the Soviet Union. What can the people in Egypt or Syria who have heard what I have said make of that accusation?

Neither President Nasser nor the members of his Government have been able to hear a single word from me which could be aimed against the Soviet Union or against any other country. What can those people think, then, when they learn what some newspapers are writing? Of course, it will be perfectly clear to them that that is a big lie. The mistake of those who are inventing those lies is just that they think a lie can long survive today. No, a lie has short legs — as

an old proverb says — and its legs are particularly short today.

Comrades, we went both to the countries abroad including the United Arab Republic to see those countries and talk with their leading people. We spared no effort and were happy to be able, together with President Nasser and other leaders, to tour a large part of Syria, to see the Syrian people and satisfy ourselves on the spot whether the accusations made against them from some quarters — that they do not desire unification — was true or not.

We saw together with President Nasser, who was enthusiastic, that the people of Syria are for unification with their hearts and souls. They are for unification because they are surrounded by individual countries which are not friendly to it. That four-million-strong people is conscious that they can only preserve their life and independence by way of unification with a country such as brotherly Egypt. And that people has seen today already what the new state authority means, what unification means for them. Until yesterday feudalism had been reigning there, all land was held by feudal lords, and the peasants and workers were slaving away. I was present in Damascus when title-deeds were being distributed to lands from those feudal estates. Besides, we had travelled for hundreds and hundreds of kilometers meeting with hundreds of thousands of people along the way, and we saw, beside all the others, many peasants, too, who were waving to us holding the title-deeds in their hands. The wheat they now are sowing is theirs. Can that people complain against unification then? They cannot! They are conscious of the kind of future that awaits them and they are boldly marching ahead, repudiating all the stories and slanders against unification. We have also told that people what we think of their unification, we have expressed our best wishes to them and conveyed the greeting of our peoples to them.

It would be better, comrades, if I were able to tell you at length here today about everything we have seen on this long trip. We have seen a great deal and I shall have an opportunity to discuss that elsewhere, too. To you, here, I would now like to say another few words about yourselves, about this part of our socialist community, and, in the first place, that you should not pay too much attention to the fact that these neighbours of ours are aggressively threatening us, and especially you here. You should know that the people, the great majority of the people of Bulgaria and the people of Albania, are not inimically disposed toward you. But what can we do when the leaders over there are acting on directives. They have their orders, and spoiled persons are not hard to orientate in an evil direction. If those leaders were taking an honest view of things, they might possibly resist such directives. For, what can this Enver do there alone. Would he dare to act as a warinciter on his here in the Balkans today when the whole world is making such immense efforts somehow to bring about an easing of international tensions? And there he is brandishing his rusty sword again. It is a sad thing, comrades, of course, but there, too, we shall keep our temper, we shall retort to them when necessary and as necessary, and we shall also demonstrate, we shall set an example, how relations can and ought to be improved. We shall continue making those efforts in the future also, but we shall not descend to the level to which they have stooped. For it would be unworthy both of us, the leaders, and of our people...

President Tito's Speech in Beograd

WE VISITED countries populated by nearly 600 million inhabitants. We have seen 600 million people with a single thought: to live in peace, to build a better life. In contact with them we showed full understanding for their difficulties and aspirations, in the same full measure as they demonstrated for our aspirations and difficulties.

Our purpose during this journey was not only to pay a courtesy visit to countries to which we had been invited, but to make beneficial use of our time for an exchange of opinions with the statesmen, the leading personalities of those countries. Indeed we have been able to do so in full measure, since the leaders of those countries as well have wanted to hear us, and we desired to hear them.

I shall not discuss the problems we examined together with them. In the main, you have seen that from the documents released, from the documents we have jointly formulated. But I can say that a full unanimity has obtained between us regarding all the most important problems of international relations and questions today. Our discussions with them have also examined the consolidation of our bilateral, our mutual relations, our cooperation in the economic field, in the cultural field, and so on.

Those peoples whose guests we have been — and whose hospitality and sympathy we shall not be able to convey to you in words because it is difficult to describe how warmly they have received us — those people entertain great sympathies toward you, toward the people of Yugoslavia. They have immense confidence in our peoples.

You know — we have already spoken of that on our way home — the whys and wherefores of that confidence. It is based on Yugoslavia's principled position, on the bold, I might say, on the courageous position and a frank expression of opinions on all questions, regardless of whether someone liked them or not. People are impressingly impressed by that because they, too, believe that sincerity and mutual accord should reign in international relations.

This time, too, of course, we have had a unified aim: to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of those forces in the world which are anxious about world peace, which desire to have peace, which desire to develop peacefully. And we have seen that those forces are enormous. About 600 million inhabitants of the countries we have visited — together those of the other countries with whom they make 1,000 million people — aspire today toward a unified aim, in order that a new disaster of mankind be prevented.

Such was our fundamental task on this great and prolonged journey of ours. We did not go to enjoy ourselves — as some of our neighbours were saying. We did not go to undermine the prestige of anyone. We went out as protagonists of peace, to act toward pacification in the world.

If someone is to blame that there exists a mistrust toward some countries, then it is the leaders themselves of those countries, and we have not said a single word against any country, against any leadership, since such a thing is opposed to the style of our work. It would have been opposed to our policy of co-existence between all peoples and states, regardless of their internal social systems.

We were extraordinarily surprised and, I must say, amazed by such a case when during our visit to Indonesia a Chinese statesman could be found who appealed to the Indonesian people to disbelieve us and not to receive us as warmly as they did, for, reputedly, we were working in the interests of imperialism. Of course, the people of Indonesia had been

caused to wonder about this accusation, when they knew what we were saying, when they knew what our country represents in the world, when they knew that our country was a peace-loving country, when it was known that we were boldly fighting both within the United Nations and without for peace and international cooperation, for fraternal relations between peoples — and yet this was the treatment we were getting. Of course, we were not the ones to lose from such an accusation, but the accusers themselves, since they had only sown even more mistrust toward themselves with this method.

We are wondering, too, why this journey of ours has been disliked by many leaders in the East. Of course, in the West they have acted more wisely, keeping silent about it. And I believe that at heart they did not like this trip either.

Here, it became fairly clearly manifest that they were worried by our policy — the policy of co-existence, the policy of tenacious striving that equal and sound relations should obtain between peoples, between states, that international tensions should be reduced. We espouse the idea that co-operation is feasible between peoples and states regardless of the kind of internal systems, and they don't like that. And what else do they dislike? They know that Yugoslavia is a great power threatening those Asian and African peoples and seeking to impose its colonial system upon them. They are very well aware of that. But what is worrying them? They are worried over Yugoslavia's growing influence, they are fearful lest we "spoil" those peoples, so that they, too, should support co-existence, that those peoples, too, should stand up for equality, and so on. That is what is worrying our accusers. And that has been manifesting itself fairly clearly during this time in their writings and attacks against our country and against us who went on that journey.

Comrades, I would not be discussing these matters today but I have to discuss them because we have kept silent for three months. For three months we had been listening to various denunciations of our country, and our policy. Yes, comrades we have been asked not once, but frequently, why are they attacking us so, what was the matter? People said that these attacks cannot be accounted for merely by ideological differences. Ideological differences do not enter into state relations and cannot be the reason for such draconian attacks. We have scrupulously avoided answering such questions publicly and I believe that most people have understood us, believe they have understood why we were reluctant, why we were guests in those countries, to go into the problem due to which our country and our leaders were being constantly attacked both in the press and in various speeches. I have seen then that we shall talk about these matters once we are back in our country, on our soil, that we shall say then what we think about those matters. And, indeed, comrades, when we consider today what value is represented by that propaganda against us and what has been accomplished by it, we may say that it is nil. Nothing has been accomplished. On the contrary, the prestige of our country has waxed stronger, the more it was being attacked the more unblemished its face became to all peace-loving peoples in the world. I wish those fellows who attacked us could have been with us in those countries to see how those peoples were expressing through us their sympathy and their great confidence in our peoples. Had they seen that, I hope they would be thinking differently.

I do not propose to cite the newspaper writings in Prague, and Communist newspapers at that, I shall not mention, either, that the newspapers of that little neighbour of ours are writing because they are going beyond all limits — but I want to say that the newspapers in the countries whose peoples I do not believe to have anything against us, for they have had excellent relations with us for centuries, are writing that we had gone out on an assignment and that we are creating a third bloc. A third bloc! No, comrades, they know that is not true. We have always been against a third bloc, because we are against any bloc. We are against two blocs even, let alone favouring the creating of a third one by us. We know that that would bring nothing well and it is not necessary to do creating it. For, between us, whom they are accusing of having gone to create a third bloc, and those peoples whom we have visited there exists a unanimity such as does not exist in any of the blocs. This unanimity is such a moral force that it must be reckoned with in the world today when major international problems are being solved or when it comes to their eventual solution. We say openly: we are not thinking, nor have we thought, of creating a third bloc, but we do want to create a unity of peoples to resist any attempt to disturb peace again and cause once more a disaster such as the Second World War. Our aim is to attain such living conditions and such international relations as will make it possible for every people to develop in accordance with its capabilities and in accordance with its internal needs and the possibilities which it has.

Comrades, allow me — I shall be reverting to those matters further on — to answer here certain matters which I am bound to answer. I have no possibility of answering perhaps in a corresponding place, since we are not holding a congress now, but I would still like to answer certain matters which came to an expression at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We were attacked there. They ascribed every possible sin to us there. They ascribed to us that we were those who were weakening the international labour movement, introducing a division between the countries of the socialist camp, that we were convincing the world that there were two camps. I am not trying to convince anyone about it because the whole world knows that there is a socialist camp and a Western bloc of powers. I am not going to discuss the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact, but there are two sides which are both in conflict and in negotiations every day. Therefore, I do not have to convince anyone about it, nor have we been trying to convince anyone either.

As regards the Balkan Pact and their assertion that, through the Balkan Pact, we are linked with NATO, that is a pure invention. You know at what stage that Balkan Pact was today. For a number of years it has been, so to speak, dormant and we are not thinking of reviving it, for if we thought thus we would be trampling everything that we said on this three-month trip to the faraway Asian and African countries which are opposed to pacts, and people there would think: why is it that you are talking against pacts when you yourselves are in the Balkan Pact. To that former pact, which also included military provisions, we have given another character of a better cooperation, and that cooperation now stands with Greece at a level such as it should be at with a friendly and allied country. Of course, we desire that with Turkey, too, there should be an identical cooperation and the best possible relations in the economic, and in the cultural, and in other fields, for that really represents an element of stability in this part of the world. But we are not any indirect members of NATO, for we have always been, and are, and shall be, also against the Atlantic Pact as such, since we consider that pacts bring no good to mankind, since we consider pacts to be transitory affairs, to be outlived in themselves and that for once serious steps should be taken towards negotiations and conversations, no matter how long they take

— without a rattling of arms and without an armaments race. And so, we are against those pacts!

Comrade Khrushchev has reproached us with a series of sins; he has also said that we are receiving American assistance. And he is well aware that we had been receiving it even before, and when I was telling him before that we were receiving such aid, he said that it was good that we were receiving help and to accept it when it was being given us.

And now, they again find it necessary to emphasize that we cannot be getting economic assistance for nothing and that there is something behind it. There is nothing behind it, and every citizen of ours knows this. We have always said openly that we shall never accept any assistance from anyone if it should involve any political or other conditions. And we are receiving such assistance from America. It is a sad thing, comrades, that a Soviet statesman in America should be warning American capitalists that they are mad for giving us assistance because we are going to cheat them, and that he further said that his government, too, could buy us for a hundred million dollars annually. No, not for billions can such a people as ours, such a country as Yugoslavia be bought. We are not letting ourselves to be purchased, and that is the answer to those who are undertaking such an unusual, such a strange action against our country.

There was also talk at the 21st Congress that we have betrayed the interests of the working-class, that we were breaking up the international labour movement, that we were minimizing the role of the Party. And let them look at the kind of role the Communist Party has in our case. The Communist Party today has a decisive role in the construction of socialism in our country, but it is acting in the interests of its people, it is acting in the way our people thinks best, in the way our Communists have learned and in the way one should act. Of course, we are not getting directives from the outside, we are acting according to our own idea the way one should act.

Most characteristic, comrade Khrushchev reproaches us with attacking the Chinese Communists. Just imagine, those fellows over there who are continuously attacking us and who are writing and speaking about us in the way they are — are supposed to be meek sheep, and now, reputedly, it is we who are attacking them in a draconian fashion. That which they are writing against us and which they are saying about us, those obscene words they are throwing at us — such things they do not want to see; but if, from time to time, we make a report, then they say we are attacking the Chinese Communists. No, we are not attacking the Chinese Communists. We are attacking those with whom, I believe, a large part of Chinese Communists likewise do not agree, we are attacking only those who are adopting such a hostile, such a savage attitude toward a country which in its history, especially the most recent history, has demonstrated how much it was not living merely for itself, but for all the oppressed in the world — and which country has made, and is making its sacrifices too. Not even on that score, and particularly in the matter of international solidarity, can they reproach us with anything. We have always been in the first place when it became necessary concretely to assist international solidarity. Who was it that demonstrated his international solidarity in 1941? Who among those who are slandering us today rose to fight with hook and hoe the greatest menace to making — fascism? It was we, it was the Yugoslav Communists, it was the Yugoslav people, which did not heed sacrifices, but bled for four years and fought inside the fascist fortress! Therein lies the true internationalism, it lies in what we carried out then, and in this that we have carried out since the war, and also in what we are going to continue carrying out in the future. Because of this, they have no right to reproach us in that respect.

Besides, comrades, it is a bit disloyal when they attack us, both in the press and on the radio, when different men are

imputing to us various matters which are inaccurate, when various things are imputed to us and accusations raised which absolutely do not correspond to the truth, while at the same time not a single word is being reprinted from those documents which actually are a reflection of those conversations and agreements we have made in the countries which we have visited. Let them show us a single newspaper in their countries that has published any of those joint communiqués. They do not exist! Why? Because, of course, by the very fact of publishing such communiqués they would disavow what they are saying and whereby they are calumniating us. Is that loyalty, is that a correct and honest policy? It is not! And don't think that their peoples are the only ones to realise it. Other peoples, too, where we have been, realize it, and it is realized everywhere in the world, too. However, you see, they take a very shallow view on such matters.

When that campaign was started, they awaited with great impatience for Tito to hit out against any one country or against the whole lot of them during his journey. They have waited and waited — in vain, though. And when they had realized that nothing will come of that, they did pass to the attack, they themselves hit out. Of course, they measure that by their own standards. For example, they are visiting one another, this one visits that one, then that other one goes to visit another five, then those five, in their turn, visit this one — and the whole merely to be able to put forth an entire series of sundry denunciations and columnies against Yugoslavia. And we are not like that, we act differently. When we are going somewhere, we behave as is proper for a guest to behave who is enjoying the hospitality of another country: without working against any other country, but to discuss and make compacts on what concerns them, not what concerns third countries. We have not been doing what they are doing, hence their wrath. I know that today and tomorrow there will be many bitter retorts to this answer of mine to them. But I cannot help them; we have to give answers and they must not think that we shall keep silent in the future. No, now we shall be answering with the same measure; not as they are doing, but still we shall be answering. Comrades, it is really ridiculous to be talking on one hand how good the Yugoslav people are, how they have fought and how honest they are, and on the other how bad their leaders are. How can a people be good if it kept leaders who are no good, I ask you? They know it, they know that they shall not be able to wedge even a finger between us, into our unity. They know it, but they need that stuff for their internal consumption. Here, it would have greatly pleased me if someone from among them had been with me yesterday and today, to look wherever we have passed what the unity of our people is like, to see the kind of will and determination there is to oppose and resist any attempt at breaking this internal unity of ours which so far has yielded such rich fruits and which has always made it possible for us to overcome the greatest of difficulties even. In that design they shall not succeed.

Further, they are saying that they are for peace, for cooperation in interstate relations. Just imagine, on one hand they are saying that we ought to cooperate along state lines, and on the other they are calling us all sorts of names, and even fascists and agents! Why, how can they cooperate with agents then? We are not merely a Party, we Communists, we are a part of the people, a part so firmly integrated with the people that it is impossible to separate us. Therefore, our affairs of state, too, and all our actions, are directed along that unified line: to strengthen our country from within, to guard our unity, to strengthen friendship with the peoples desiring equal relations. They cannot improve relations if they are vilifying us along every possible line. Yes, we are for discussion if there are theoretical differences; only, I cannot see large theoretical differences there. They occur, here and there, the kind practice has given rise to, the practice of socialist construction, both in their case and ours. Now it

is a question whether that should be generalized, so that it be uniform for the whole world, or are there actually varying possibilities of solving the problems of socialist construction. That is a matter for discussions, but it should not dare to be set forth with such bitterness, with such hatred in propaganda, as is being done toward us. How can they permit that somewhere over there — in Albania, in Bulgaria, or somewhere else — certain leaders should be attacking our country and our leaders in such an uncontrolled, such a savage, such a warinciting fashion? They can prevent it and consequently I cannot see that they are thinking differently until such time as they have prevented it. Then we can talk of an improvement of relations. For, we desire good relations, we are realists, we see that we must have good relations some day. But one cannot be saying: „Yes, we shall have good relations once you are not there“. For, we shall be here for as long as we have the physical possibilities and intellectual capabilities and for as long as the people keeps us here. And no one else can budge us from this place!

Comrades, so much for now in answer to those various accusations and vulgarities against our country, and we shall have opportunities yet to discuss that. Today I do not want to discuss more extensively what I have said in Skopje, either, but I only wish to say that the irredentist campaign prosecuted by various Zhivkovs and sundry Envers has very little to do with socialist relations and internationalism. Such methods can only be expected between some die-hard imperialist capitalist countries and of such things there have been in the past. For, what kind of leaders of socialist countries are those who are making allusions toward a socialist Yugoslavia to the effect that one thing or another wants rectifying, that this or that part should be seceded, or who are disputing to a whole nation the right to its national existence.

And there is one other thing, comrades which I should like to mention here. In the Albanian Parliament the word had been uttered that the question of the minorities in Kosovo and Metohija will be moved in the United Nations against Yugoslavia. If anyone had to move something, then we, Yugoslavs, ought to move the question of the hostile, warinciting campaign conducted by some Albanian leaders, for their country, too, is a member of the United Nations, and there, in the United Nations, there exists a paragraph forbidding that. I think we shall have to go into that a little more seriously some day if this savage manhunt against Yugoslavia does not stop...

NOTE

from the Government of the FPRY to the Albanian Government

On February 26, 1959 the following Note was delivered in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs to the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Legation of the People's Republic of Albania in Yugoslavia, Raku Naco:

THE YUGOSLAV Government wishes to point out to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania that, during 1957 and 1958, through the Legation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Tirana, the attention of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania was drawn to the irregular treatment of and difficulties created for Yugoslav ships in Albanian waters. In accordance with its policy of good neighbourly relations and desirous to avoid disagreements and to settle in a satisfactory way the question of maritime service between the two countries, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia proposed, in May 1958, to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania the conclusion of an agreement on reciprocal treat-

ment of merchant ships on the principles of maritime practice which are generally accepted throughout the world, and on the principles of the international conventions on navigation. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, for comprehensible reasons refused to conclude such an agreement.

Meanwhile, the conduct of the Albanian authorities towards Yugoslav ships and seamen in Albanian ports and in Albanian territorial waters has now become a system of regular discrimination and constant violation of the customary international maritime practice of extending aid in emergency, and of according hospitality.

In cases of ordinary inoffensive passage through Albanian territorial waters, Albanian patrol boats stop Yugoslav merchant ships and unlawfully order them to leave Albanian territorial waters, an act conflicting with the principles of international maritime law, which guarantees free navigation through territorial waters on condition that the passage is inoffensive.

Thus, on February 13, 1959, at 08.40 hours, the Yugoslav cargo-passenger ship „Pelješac“, on her regular route from Greece to Yugoslavia, was stopped at sea north of the island of Sazan, at a point six miles off the Albanian coast, by the Albanian patrol boat No 92, from which guns were trained. The officer in charge of the Albanian boat forced the „Pelješac“ to change her course and leave Albanian territorial waters.

Another Yugoslav cargo-passenger ship, the „Lastovo“, on her regular route from Yugoslavia to Greece, during her inoffensive passage through Albanian territorial waters on February 15, 1959, was stopped at 11.10 hours at a point four miles off the Albanian coast north-west of the Port of Palermo, by boat No 232 of the Albanian navy, with its guns trained. The master of the „Lastovo“ was forced to turn aside from his course and leave Albanian territorial waters.

In both these cases, Yugoslav merchant ships, while inoffensively passing through, were illegally and without reason stopped in Albanian territorial waters, and forced under threat of arms by Albanian naval units to leave Albanian territorial waters.

The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia also wishes to point out certain other cases of irregular treatment of Yugoslav merchant ships which were compelled to seek shelter in Albanian ports by force majeure:

1. The Yugoslav ship „Drina“ was caught on December 3, 1958 in a severe storm in the region of Valona. The ship being in danger, her master decided to seek shelter in Valona harbour, as the only suitable spot on that part of the coast. When the ship was nearing the island of Sazan her master signalled the necessary data concerning the „Drina“, asked to be allowed to sail into the harbour, and that a place be allotted where the ship could anchor. When the „Drina“ anchored off the island of Sazan to await instructions from the Albanian authorities, a patrol boat of the Albanian navy approached the ship, and the officer in charge ordered, under the threat of arms, that the „Drina“ should immediately leave her anchorage and Albanian territorial waters. The Albanian commander refused to alter his decision despite the fact that he was warned that the „Drina“ would find herself in serious danger in the open sea. The crew of the Albanian ship accompanied the act of the commander by insulting expressions about the crew of the „Drina“, such as: „No shelter in Valona harbour for revisionists“, etc. Thus the „Drina“, at the cost of great efforts on the part of her crew and under serious danger of shipwreck, was forced to continue her voyage towards the island of Corfu in a heavy storm.

2. Because of bad weather on January 11, 1959, the Yugoslav vessel „Volosko“ was forced to seek shelter in Valona, where she anchored outside the harbour. After inspecting the ship, an officer of the Albanian port authority gave per-

mission to the master of the „Voslovskaa“, in case the weather became rougher, to anchor in Raguša Bay, which is better protected. The „Volosko“ remained anchored off Valona up to January 13, 1959, and when the wind rose, the master of the ship left the anchorage and moved her to Raguša Bay, alongside other Albanian vessels. An Albanian tugboat soon arrived however, and the port authority ordered, on instructions from higher quarters, that the „Volosko“ should return to the anchorage off Valona, despite the rough weather, so that the Yugoslav ship had to start her engines in order to keep in her anchorage.

3. A similar incident happened to the Yugoslav ship „Slap“ which, on February 5, 1959, sailed from the Port of Saranda for Rijeka with a cargo of 350 tons of coal. In the vicinity of Valona, because of engine trouble and a bad weather forecast from the usual sources, the master of the „Slap“ decided to put in to the port of Valona, spend the night there, repair her engines, and continue her voyage in the morning. At 19.20 hours on the same day, at the entry to Valona harbour the „Slap“ was stopped by a torpedo boat with two officers aboard. These officers refused to allow the vessel to anchor, although the master of the „Slap“ explained that they had engine trouble. A little later another patrol boat pulled alongside the „Slap“ with the following aboard: six officers, the port captain and a civilian, who inspected the vessel and the engines and, in spite of statements by the master of the vessel, concluded that „the engine trouble was not sufficient to require the vessel to interrupt her voyage“ and at 02.40 hours ordered the „Slap“ to sail immediately and leave Albanian territorial waters. The patrol boats escorted the Yugoslav ship for a time.

Such conduct on the part of Albanian authorities towards Yugoslav merchant ships finding themselves in trouble through force majeure, constitutes not only a violation of international maritime practice and of the elementary principles of humanity, but also leads to the direct endangering of the lives of the crews of Yugoslav ships.

4. The conduct of the Albanian authorities towards Yugoslav ships and seamen is not limited to irregular treatment in case of emergency, or violation of the right of inoffensive passage through territorial waters.

In Albanian ports a special regime of discrimination is applied to Yugoslav ships which call there in order to take on or discharge cargoes. Not only is the loading and unloading intentionally delayed, and Yugoslav seamen forbidden to go ashore, although Yugoslav ships sometimes remain in Albanian ports for several weeks because of business, but it is explicitly forbidden for Yugoslav ships to obtain supplies of food and water in Albanian ports, even in cases when they are forced to stay for a long time because of the carrying out of commercial operations. There have been a number of cases in which Yugoslav vessels, having been left without food and water on account of an unexpectedly long stay in the port of Durazzo, were forced to leave Albanian waters empty and to return to Yugoslav ports for provisions.

Thus, the ship „Ušće“, which was in the port of Durazzo from December 21, 1958, to January 8, 1959 to discharge her cargo, had to leave the port empty because the crew were not allowed to get food supplies in Durazzo, not even from the Yugoslav ship „Zuzemberg“, which was then in the port of Durazzo. A similar thing happened to the Yugoslav vessel „Cetina“ which, because of delay in unloading, remained in the port of Durazzo from November 28, 1958 to January 5, 1959, and found herself in a difficult situation since she was left without provisions. If in such cases a Yugoslav vessel applies for aid in food to another Yugoslav vessel, the Albanian authorities call this a serious violation. It should be mentioned that the Albanian port authorities, when inspecting Yugoslav ships, are often very offensive and not infrequently insult Yugoslav seamen and Yugoslavia.

„In setting out the above-mentioned cases and the practice followed by the Albanian authorities, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia wishes seriously to draw the attention of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania to the irregular and offensive conduct of the Albanian authorities towards Yugoslav ships and seamen — conduct which represents a violation of the elementary principles of international practice and of generally accepted maritime practice.

„The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia requests that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, should undertake the necessary measures to discontinue this practice, which menaces normal maritime connections between the two countries and renders difficult the maintenance of regular maritime services in this part of the Adriatic. If such conduct towards Yugoslav ships and seamen is continued, responsibility for the consequences which may arise therefrom will be exclusively that of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania“.

Although the Note contained only facts and was written in accordance with normal diplomatic practice, Mr Rako Naco, Chargé d'Affaires of the Albanian Legation, after acquainting himself with the contents of the Note, refused to receive it.

ANNOUNCEMENT

on President Tito's Visit to the United Arab Republic

The following announcement was issued at the conclusion of the talks between President Tito and President Nasser in Aleppo, Syria, on February 27, 1959.

THE PRESIDENT of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito, with his wife, has visited the United Arab Republic in February, 1959 on the invitation of the President of the United Arab Republic Gamal Abdel Nasser.

President Tito was accompanied by the following as members of a delegation: the President of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Montenegro, Blažo Jovanović; the Deputy of the Federal People's Assembly, Ivan Maček; the member of the Federal Executive Council, Slobodan Penzić; the State Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, Veljko Mićunović; and the Secretary General to the President of the Republic, Meo Mates.

During their visit, President Tito and the members of the Yugoslav delegation have taken part in the celebrations of the Anniversary of the United Arab Republic in Cairo and Damascus. They have visited the towns of Homs, Hama, Aleppo, Latakia and other places where they came into a direct and friendly contact with the population and acquainted themselves with the large region of the Syrian part of the United Arab Republic.

This visit has enabled the two heads of state to continue the conversations which they had conducted in Port Said on December 4, 1958 and to effect an exhaustive exchange of opinions on current international questions and the further promotion of a comprehensive co-operation between the two countries. The conversations were held between February 21 and 27, 1959. President Tito, the members of the delegation and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Cairo, Josip Djerdja, participating in them from the Yugoslav side, while those who participated from the side of the United Arab Republic, included President Abdel Nasser, the Vice Presidents of the Republic, Abdel Latif el Bogdadi, Marshal Abdel Hakim

Amer, and Akram el Hurani; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi; the Minister of Internal Affairs, Zaharia Mohiyedin; the Minister for Presidential Affairs, Ali Sabri; the President of the Executive Council of the Syrian Region, Nur Edin Kahala; the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Syrian Region, Abdul Hamid el Seradj; the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hussein Zulfikar Sabri; and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of U.A.R. in Beograd, Sabet el Aris.

The conversations have taken place in the spirit of full understanding and the traditional friendship characterizing the relations between the two countries. They have confirmed the large congruence in the appraisal of current international problems and the firm resolve of both countries to continue developing mutual co-operation in all fields.

The two Presidents record with pleasure that the aims and principles by which their countries are guided in their international policy and which have been expressed in the Joint Statement which was issued in Alexandria on January 6, 1956 and the Brioni Statements from July, 1956 and July, 1958 have proved correct and beneficial for the consolidation of peace and the promotion of constructive international co-operation.

They reaffirm their resolve to strive for the consolidation of peace and the realization of comprehensive international co-operation founded on equality and full respect for independence, on non-interference in the internal affairs of another and on recognition of the right of every people to govern itself in accordance with its own conditions. The two heads of state establish that realization of these principles fully accords with the United Nations Charter and the resolutions adopted at the Bandung and Accra Conferences.

Both Presidents consider that the development of the international situation during last year has confirmed their opinion that the principles of active peaceful co-existence were gaining an increasing self-assertion in international policy. Due to this, on their part, they will continue to make efforts toward a complete elimination, from international life of the policy of reliance on force, the policy of the cold war and a division of the world into blocs, and that international problems be settled by negotiations and agreement. In that respect they consider that a significant function can be performed by countries finding themselves outside of blocs and striving for the application of the principle of co-existence in their foreign policy.

Attaching the greatest importance to respect for the principle of independence and equality of states in international relations, the two Presidents welcome the successes achieved by the new independent countries of Africa and Asia in the consolidation of their international position. They have established the existence of complete agreement between them to continue striving for the removal of every form of colonialism and all other forms of foreign domination from international life and for recognition of the right of every people to self-determination; the two Presidents have reaffirmed their belief that the question of Algeria should be settled on that basis.

They reconfirm the support of their Governments to the declarations which were adopted at the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955 in connection with the Near and Middle East and they have expressed their conviction that no initiatives should be undertaken which would render even more difficult a solution of the problems of that region.

Guided by the interests of peace and security, the two Presidents have also examined the situation in connection with Berlin and have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to settle that question by agreement and proceed to the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Germany in accordance with the interests of the German people and the other interested peoples, as well as the needs of peace and security.

The two Presidents have expressed their great anxiety due to the armaments race which is still continuing. They consider that it is indispensable to undertake concrete measures regarding disarmament without delay, and primarily regarding discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests and a prohibition of the use of those weapons. They express the firm hope that the great powers possessing those weapons will make the necessary efforts, so that the necessary international agreements may be reached in that sense.

The two Presidents consider that the continued existence of many under-developed areas and countries in the world and the lack of adequate co-operation between different countries toward economic development and social progress, wherever this is necessary, constitute a constant source of instability and a grave danger to world peace and the independence of many countries. For that reason, they will continue to uphold extension of international economic assistance to under-developed countries, without any political conditions, primarily through the United Nations.

The two Presidents have established that their countries continue to attach a great significance to the United Nations in the solving of the existing international problems and the preservation of peace in the world. They have confirmed the viewpoint that their countries should continue most intimately to co-operate in the work of the United Nations and have agreed to make, in concert with other peace-loving countries, further efforts so that all peoples may be represented in that organization as soon as possible.

The two Presidents have subjected to an all-embracing examination the relations between their countries and the results realized in the development of mutual co-operation and friendship between them. They have established with great pleasure that general progress has been recorded in all domains of the relations between their two countries and they consider that favourable possibilities exist for a further intensification and expansion of their fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation.

They have expressed satisfaction over the development of an intensive and useful co-operation in the political field which is founded on the identical importance attached by their countries to a policy of peace, the promotion of active international co-operation and the realization of a continued progress and prosperity of their peoples in peace. They have appraised as very beneficial the exchanges of opinion by way of personal contacts and correspondence, as well as through routine diplomatic channels, and have decided to continue that practice also in the future.

In the matter of development of economic co-operation, the two Presidents have found that the goods exchanges between their countries have been marking a constant increase and that the other forms of co-operation in the economic field are also developing favourably. For purposes of giving a larger impetus to this co-operation, the two Presidents have agreed that it be proceeded to the preparation of long-term economic arrangements, notably in the domain of supply of petroleum, phosphates, timber and other products.

The two Presidents consider that mutually beneficial results have been recorded in the co-operation between the two countries in the fields of culture, education and arts. In this context, they have welcomed the conclusion last year of a Convention on Cultural Co-operation and the signature of a Protocol on the execution of that Convention by the Ministers of Education and Culture of the two countries at the beginning of this year.

The two heads of state have reviewed the results achieved to date in the field of scientific and technical co-operation and have agreed about the need to prepare the relevant protocols and plans for putting into effect the previously concluded agreement between the two countries from that domain.

The two Presidents appraise as very useful the lively exchanges of delegations between the two countries, both of the governmental and non-governmental organizations, and consider a continuation of such a practice as contributive to a better mutual acquaintanceship and the promotion of a spirit of co-operation and understanding. Likewise they share the opinion that the widest co-operation is desirable and beneficial in the field of tourism, for which purpose the interested organizations of the two countries will undertake measures to achieve the necessary arrangements.

Both Presidents reaffirm their strong conviction that a strengthening of friendly and comprehensive ties between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic is in the interests of the people of the two countries and in the interests of peace, international agreement and general progress.

ANNOUNCEMENT

on Yugoslav-Greek Talks on the Island of Rhodes

The following official announcement was issued after conclusion of conversations between President Tito and Greek Premier Karamanlis on the island of Rhodes on March 3, 1959.

ON HIS return journey from several countries of Asia and Africa, the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito arrived on March 2, 1959 on a visit to Greece, where he will be staying until March 6, on the invitation of the Royal Greek Government. The head of the Yugoslav state was welcomed on Rhodes by the President of the Ministerial Council of Greece, Constantine Karamanlis, on March 2. During his stay on Rhodes on March 2 and 3, President Tito has conducted conversations with the President of the Greek Government on all questions of interest to the two countries. Those who also participated in the conversations included from the Yugoslav side the President of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Montenegro, Blažo Jovanović; the member of the Federal Executive Council, Slobodan Penezić; the State Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, Veljko Mićunović; the Secretary General to the President of the Republic, Leo Mates; and the Yugoslav Ambassador in Athens, Mita Miljković; and from the Greek side the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Evangelos Averoff-Tositsa; the Director General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, P. Economou-Gouras; the Greek Ambassador in Belgrade, T. Tsakalotos; Minister Plenipotentiary A. Matsash; and Counsellor at the Embassy, Z. Kambiotis.

The head of the Yugoslav state and the President of the Greek Government, acting in the spirit of full confidence, friendship and respect for the special international position of either country which characterizes the Yugoslav-Greek relations have exchanged opinions on international questions as well as the specific questions concerning the two countries and their area. Among these last, special consideration was given to questions relating to the Arab world of the Middle East, whose welfare is of special interest to Yugoslavia and Greece.

President Tito informed Premier Karamanlis about the results of his visit to several countries of Asia and Africa, and the Greek Premier informed President Tito about the London agreements whereby the people of Cyprus has gained its independence, the relations of Greece with Turkey and Great Britain being settled at the same time.

These conversations have provided an opportunity to the President of the Republic and the President of the Government to reaffirm the intention of the two Governments to continue and consolidate the ties between their countries and promote co-operation within the existing treaties.

In relation to the special questions of interest to Yugoslavia and Greece, the President of the Republic and the President of the Government have established with satisfaction that the work of the Yugoslav-Greek Mixed Commission has already progressed to the point where it will soon be possible to conclude a series of agreements intended for a substantial promotion of co-operation between the two countries and the mutual interests of their peoples.

The head of the Yugoslav state and the chief of the Greek Government have concluded their conversations by reaffirming the strong resolve of the two Governments to seek to intensify the close co-operation between Yugoslavia and Greece by every means in the common interests of the two countries and in the interests of prosperity and peace in their part of the world.

Meetings and Talks

ALGERIAN TRADE UNION FUNCTIONARIES LEAVE YUGOSLAVIA. — The members of the Secretariat of the external delegation of the General Union of Algerian Workers Jilany Embaruk and Budisa Saffi who spent a week in Yugoslavia as guests of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions held a press conference on March 3. On that occasion the Algerian guests stated that the Yugoslav Workers' Council created the deepest impression on them during their stay in this country. In their opinion the workers' councils constitute an entirely new system of management of economy for the representatives of the individual communes.

During their visit to Yugoslavia the members of the Algerian Trade Union delegation also visited Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia where they had the opportunity of speaking to the representatives of the individual communes.

Negotiations and Agreements

AGREEMENT ON TRADE AND NAVIGATION WITH JAPAN. — A Trade and Payments Agreement between Yugoslavia and Japan was signed in Beograd on February 28. By the conclusion of this instrument the former Agreement of November 16, 1923 which no longer corresponded to the present requirements and the post-war relations between the two countries was declared null and void.

TALKS ON BALANCING TRADE WITH INDIA. — A delegation of Indian economic representatives will arrive in Yugoslavia at the end of March with a view to examining the possibilities of increasing trade and the eventual balancing of exports and imports between the two countries with their Yugoslav colleagues. Commodity exchange between India and Yugoslavia developed notably during the past few years and reveals a sustained upward tendency. Thus India was the foremost Yugoslav foreign trade partner in Asia last year. The volume of trade was over three billion and 800 million dinars, or 1.5 billion more than in 1957. Yugoslav exports to India were valued at about three billion and two hundred million dinars last year, while 672,173,000 dinars worth of goods were imported from that country.

Diplomatic Diary

March 1 — The governments of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of Morocco agreed to raise their diplomatic missions in Beograd and Rabat to the rank of Embassies.

March 12 — President Josip Broz Tito received the newly appointed Swiss Ambassador to Yugoslavia Anton Roy Ganz who presented his Letters of Credence on that occasion.

Our New Contributors

OBRAD CICMIL: Secretary of the Educational Council of Yugoslavia. Joined the Diplomatic Service in 1945. Formerly Ambassador to Great Britain, Canada, Pakistan and Bulgaria and Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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